1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's horses, sheep or goats. 783

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest. 783 609

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures. 783 784 [954] [777]

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punishment of God as being realized essentially in this world either against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Paradise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 783 784 722 725 721

/265 cont./
them salt (44) and incense. (45)

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Θεοδώρου Μάρτυρος: Περὶ Τρίβωνος, M.P.G. 6, 667.

A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

46. Ibid., vol. II.

has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others. The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer). Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

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776 792 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the trigger with the right hand. (48)

776 792 411 [790] [791]

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement, reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand. Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

776 789

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

[751]

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. [illegible]

[171] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 233 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat, half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 233 789 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

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121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 792 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

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121 789 792 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 811 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 32.

one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: Epistémologie, vol. III, p. 261.
--See also the same author: Traité de Logique /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: Le Candomblé, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again mythical classifications. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations. 811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into 792 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

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811 792

Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites [793] elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier: Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of